

Message Text

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ACTION EA-10

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1767

INFO AMEMBASSY SEOUL PRIORITY

CINCPAC HONOLULU HAWAII PRIORITY

COMUSJAPAN YOKOTA JAPAN PRIORITY

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 9778

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MARR JA

SUBJ: SAKATA AND US-JAPAN DEFENSE COOPERATION

REF: TOKYO 8705 DTG 300955Z JUN 75

1. FOLLOWING CONVERSATION BETWEEN DCM AND JDA MINSTAKE
SAKATA AT JULY 4TH RECEPTION CONCERNING DEBATES IN MOST RECENT
DIET SESSION ON SECURITY AND JDA'S "FOUR PRINCIPLES", JDA
SENT US AT SAKATA'S INSTRUCTION SUMMARY STATEMENT OF GOJ
POSITION ON SECURITY POLICY WHICH APPARENTLY WAS BASIS OF
GOJ STATEMENTS ON FLOOR OF DIET. JDA VM KUBO CLAIMS HE
DRAFTED THIS STATEMENT SOME NINE YEARS AGO AND DREW IT OUT
OF FILES TO SERVE THIS, THE FIRST OPPORTUNITY TO USE IT
WITH GOOD EFFECT. INFORMAL TRANSLATION OF TEXT FOLLOWS:
QTE I. OUR COUNTRY'S DEFENSE POLICY IS TO PREVENT AGGRESSION
THROUGH POSSESSION OF AN EFFECTIVE DEFENSE CAPABILITY, WHILE
FIRMLY MAINTAINING THE SECURITY TREATY STRUCTURE WITH THE
U.S. AND IN EVENT OF EXTERNAL AGGRESSION, TO COPE WITH IT
ON THE BASIS OF THIS STRUCTURE. HOWEVER, NO CONCRETE AGREEMENT
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CONCERNING US-JAPAN EMERGENCY COOPERATION FOR THE DEFENSE OF
OUR COUNTRY EXISTS.

II. FOR THIS PURPOSE, IT IS NECESSARY FOR THOSE RESPONSIBLE
FOR DEFENSE IN BOTH THE U.S. AND JAPAN TO EXCHANGE VIEWS

CONCERNING SMOOTH OPERATION OF THE SECURITY TREATY DURING NORMAL TIMES AND SEE TO IT THAT FRANK DIALOGUES ARE NOT BROKEN OFF. IN SHORT, WE WOULD LIKE TO HAVE SOME AGREEMENT CONCERNING FUTURE US-JAPAN DEFENSE COOPERATION.

III. WE ARE NOT THINKING OF THIS AGREEMENT AS SOMETHING UNDER WHICH OUR COUNTRY WOULD RECEIVE NEW RIGHTS OR OBLIGATIONS. AT THE PRESENT TIME, THIS QUESTION COVERS A BROAD RANGE AND SINCE CIRCUMSTANCES WILL VARY DEPENDING ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND THE FORM OF AN ARMED ATTACK, IT IS DIFFICULT AND IMPROPER TO SECURE (IN ADVANCE) AN AGREEMENT WHICH RESPONDS TO SPECIFIC SITUATIONS. REGARDING THE FORM OF OUR UNDERSTANDING, IT ALSO DOES NOT NECESSARILY HAVE TO BE IN THE FORM OF AN "ARRANGEMENT". PRESENTLY WE NEED TO CLARIFY SUCH THINGS AS COMMUNICATIONS AND COORDINATION FOR OPERATIONS WHICH THE U.S. AND JAPAN WOULD CARRY OUT UNDER THEIR RESPECTIVE COMMANDS, WE ALSO NEED TO CLARIFY WHAT OUR COUNTRY CAN AND CANNOT DO AND THE CONTENTS OF AID AND SUPPORT EXPECTED OF THE U.S. TO FACILITATE COORDINATED, HARMONIZED AND EFFECTIVE OPERATIONS. AS A FIRST STEP, WE THINK IT DESIRABLE TO ESTABLISH SOME BILATERAL RESEARCH OR CONSULTATIVE ORGAN, TO CONDUCT STUDIES ON THESE QUESTIONS UNDER EFFECTIVE CIVILIAN CONTROL. IN REGARD TO THE SPECIFIC CONTENTS AND FORM OF AN AGREEMENT, WE INTEND TO DISTILL THEM IN THE COURSE OF TALKS BETWEEN U.S. AND JAPANESE DEFENSE LEADERS AND THROUGH CONSULTATIONS WITH THE MINISTRIES AND AGENCIES CONCERNED, WHILE NATURALLY TAKING INTO FULL CONSIDERATION THE RESTRICTIONS IMPOSED BY THE CONSTITUTION.

IV. AT AN APPROPRIATE TIME WE WISH TO REPORT THIS CONCEPT TO THE NATIONAL DEFENSE COUNCIL IN ORDER TO HAVE IT ADDRESSED BY AS BROAD A RANGE OF VIEWPOINTS AS POSSIBLE. IF A SPECIFIC AGREEMENT IS REACHED AFTER TALKS WITH THE U.S., WE WILL ASK THE PRIME MINISTER TO PLACE IT BEFORE THE NATIONAL DEFENSE COUNCIL. WITHIN THE LIMITS OF OUR NATIONAL INTERESTS AND INsofar AS IT DOES NOT IMPAIR FRIENDLY RELATIONS BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE U.S., WE WILL WISH TO GIVE IT FULL PUBLICITY. UNQTE

2. ACCORDING TO PRESS AND OTHER SOURCES HERE, SAKATA DISCUSSED HIS SCENARIO FOR ARRIVING AT A US-JAPAN DEFENSE COOPERATION
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ARRANGEMENT AT JULY 15 NATIONAL DEFENSE COUNCIL MEETING AND PROPOSED FORMATION OF NEW BILATERAL LIAISON BODY. FINANCE MINISTER OHIRA OPPOSED THE IDEA ON GROUNDS THAT A NEW US-JAPAN SECURITY CONSULTATIVE ORGANIZATION IS UNNECESSARY AND UNDESIRABLE. HE ADVOCATED THAT SAKATA'S PROPOSALS BE WORKED OUT THROUGH ESTABLISHED MECHANISMS AND APPARENTLY REFERRED TO SECURITY CONSULTATIVE GROUP (SCG) AS LOGICAL PLACE TO DISCUSS THESE IDEAS (LOOSENESS OF TERMINOLOGY IN THE MEETING AND IMPRECISE PRESS RENDITIONS OF IT MAKE OHIRA'S REFERENCE UNCLEAR). JDA SOURCE JULY 18 CONFIRMED THAT SAKATA HAS BACKED OFF IDEA OF NEW FORUM, EXCEPT IN SENSE OF NEED FOR ACTUAL MEETINGS FOR LIMITED UNIFORMED CONTINGENCY PLANNING EXERCISE. SAKATA IS SAID NOT TO BE OVERLY CONCERNED ABOUT ORGANIZATIONAL MEANS BY WHICH THESE CONSULTATIONS

ARE COVERED. HIS PURPOSE IS ONLY TO ENSURE LEGALLY AND POLITICALLY ACCEPTABLE "HOME" FOR THEM. FONOFF, AS WELL, IN INFORMAL REVIEW OF FIRST DRAFT OF MIKI-FORD COMMUNIQUE WITH DCM JULY 18, APPEARED TO REFLECT GENERAL CONSENSUS THAT SAKATA'S CONSULTATIONS SHOULD BE ENCOMPASSED WITHIN PRESENTLY ESTABLISHED SYSTEM FOR CONSULTATIONS UNDER SECURITY CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE (SCC), INCLUDING SCG.

3. POSSIBLE IMPORTANT FOOTNOTE ON PRESENT THINKING IN SAKATA'S OFFICE ABOUT THIS CONSULTATIVE SCENARIO WAS PROVIDED IN JULY 18 CONVERSATION WITH JDA SOURCE. HE SAID THAT, WHEREAS THINKING ORIGINALLY HAD BEEN THAT SAKATA WOULD HAVE TO MOVE HIS PROPOSAL INTO FULL PUBLIC VIEW AND POLITICAL ACCEPTANCE THROUGH TWO MEETINGS WITH SECRETARY SCHLESINGER (LATE AUGUST IN TOKYO AND NOVEMBER IN WASHINGTON), INCREASING LIKELIHOOD OF GENERAL ELECTION IN DECEMBER AND UNCERTAINTIES ABOUT LONGER-TERM TENURE OF SAKATA IN THE CONTEXT OF THE ELECTORAL TEST OF MIKI ADMINISTRATION NOW INCLINE SAKATA TO TRY FOR MORE DETAILED AND CONCLUSIVE STATEMENT OF AGREEMENT WITH U.S. SIDE AFTER HIS AUGUST MEETING WITH SECDEF. SOURCE REFUSED TO SPECULATE FURTHER ABOUT SAKATA'S POLITICAL PROSPECTS, BUT COMMENTED THAT ALL MINISTERS ARE BEGINNING TO HEDGE THEIR PLANS BEYOND NOVEMBER. WE HAVE APPOINTMENT TO DISCUSS THESE AND OTHER MATTERS WITH JDA DEFENSE BUREAU DIRGEN MARUYAMA JULY 21.

4. FINALLY, CALLS BY DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST PARTY (DSP) CHAIRMAN KASUGA ON PRIMIN MIKI, FONMIN MIYAZAWA AND JDA MINSTATE SAKATA LAST WEEK PROVIDED FURTHER GRIST FOR ATTENTIVE COVERAGE ON THIS CONFIDENTIAL

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GENERAL SUBJECT IN THE PRESS. MIKI ON JULY 16 AGREED WITH KASUGA THAT GOJ SHOULD CONDUCT "DEEPLY PROBING DISCUSSIONS" ON SECURITY PROBLEMS WITH DSP. IN TALK WITH MIYAZAWA JULY 17, THE DSP CALLED FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW POLITICAL-LEVEL CONSULTATIVE ORGAN AND A BRAKE ON U.S. MILITARY OPERATIONS FROM BASES IN JAPAN; KASUGA SAID "PEOPLE'S UNEASINESS" WILL INCREASE IF MIKI IN WASHINGTON ONLY RECONFIRMS SO-CALLED 1969 KOREAN CLAUSE. MIYAZAWA PROMISED TO STUDY DSP'S CONSULTATIONS PROPOSAL AND EVADED CLEAR RESPONSE ON KOREAN CLAUSE. ALSO ON JULY 17, SAKATA AVOIDED COMMITMENT TO KASUGA ON FORM OF CONSULTATIONS THAT MAY BE REQUIRED, BUT PRESS HIGHLIGHTED HIS STATEMENT THAT "IT IS NECESSARY TO ESTABLISH DIRECT CONTACTS BETWEEN JAPANESE AND U.S. CABINET MEMBERS IN CHARGE OF DEFENSE AFFAIRS". TOKYO SHIMBUN COMMENTED THAT SAKATA'S STATEMENT SEEMS TO OPEN STRONG POSSIBILITY THAT SAKATA WILL PROPOSE TO SECRETARY SCHLESINGER OCCASIONAL ("AS SITUATION DEMANDS") U.S.-JAPAN DEFENSE TALKS ON MINISTERIAL LEVEL.

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